



United States Department of State

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BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

SS/12

January 6, 1983

TO: The Secretary  
FROM: PA - John Hughes *JH*  
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Joseph Kraft  
Monday, January 10, 7:30 a.m.



SUMMARY:

Breakfast with Joe Kraft will be held in your dining room and will be ON DEEP BACKGROUND. I will attend. Kraft has recently returned from a trip, to Western Europe and the Soviet Union, that served as the basis for most of his December columns. You may recall that you were the subject of a column in November:

The Secretary of State is now going through a rough patch. He has stumbled in doing major business with the Soviet Union and with the European allies. While irreparable damage has not been done, there are signs of a rift between the State Department and the White House, and of an ill-conceived scheme to play off the Germans against the French.

Of course, the visible rifts with the White House and the French can be patched up. But the division never should have surfaced in the first place. The fact is that Shultz is a relative novice in foreign affairs -- especially security issues involving Russia and the allies.... If you put together a White House largely innocent of foreign policy with a top State Department team in the same condition, you have a good recipe for more and more trouble (11/18).

"The Andropov Gambit" -- January 4: "The opening notes of the New Year announced that Moscow holds the diplomatic initiative against Washington. Though his power is not fully consolidated, Yuri Andropov is forcing the case on arms control and a possible Summit meeting....

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

REVIEWED by *Amr*

DATE 9/11/89

☒ RELEASE ☐ DECLASSIFY  
☐ EXCISE ☐ DECLASSIFY in PART  
☐ DENVY ☐ Non-responsive Info.

FOI. EO of PA exemptions

Authority to:

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"The Russian leaders would clearly like an [arms] accord with the United States.... But there are also some reservations, probably among the military, who backed Andropov in his fight with Chernenko. So, while advertising the interest in arms control internationally through the [Hearst newspaper] interview, Andropov, through Pravda, reassures his own backers that he is not giving away the store to the Americans.

"The United States ought to be well prepared for such tactics."

"1983: The Danger Zone" -- January 2: "The new year opens with the world economy inching along the edge of recession.... Government action can prevent a catastrophe, but, largely for ideological reasons, the Reagan Administration hangs back."

"The Recession in Russia" -- Moscow, December 12: "The occasional visitor to this city can settle at a glance the debate about the Soviet economy that rages furiously in the Western capitals. Living standards here are relatively high, and continue to rise....

"So an effective Western policy has to move beyond crude boycotts to sophisticated tactics. Limits can be usefully placed on high technology items, especially those used for military purposes.... Still, those are distinctly limited pressures. To lift them is to assert the bottom line. The bottom line is that economic pressures cannot crack the Soviet machine, or put Communism on the ash heap of history."

"Exit from Afghanistan" -- December 21: "Despite many hints that under Yuri Andropov Russia will become more flexible, it is hard, almost impossible, to see in the West a peaceful settlement to the conflict that continues to rage in Afghanistan. ... While theory may trace the way out, reality stands in the way. Barring some larger deal, the Russians seem to be stuck for the foreseeable future."

"New Wave in Europe" -- December 15: "Recent talks with President Francois Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Kohl suggest that a new chapter in a happy story is about to unfold. It is this story of Franco-German amity that has counted so much for the success of post-war Western Europe....

"While the Kohl-Mitterrand axis is just beginning, the implications are large. Western Europe can move beyond the economic power it now enjoys. It can acquire a respectable defense capacity. It also can begin to assert independent influence on international questions.

The United States would surely experience difficulties, particularly respecting trade, in such a Europe.... [But] there is very little the West Europeans can do to hurt the United States in a big way...

Once the United States accepts that nothing terribly bad can happen to American interests in Western Europe, it acquires the right to insist that the Russians grow up about Eastern Europe. It is in that prospect, in the possible emergence of a European Europe, that there lies the true meaning of the famous term 'detente.'

Drafted: PA/CAP:VE Gilliespie:sch  
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